

Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1898.

NO. 9

This that they call Organizing of Labor is, if well understood, the Problem of the whole Future for All.—Carlyle.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

ON.....LABOR DAY
AND.....ITS MEANING.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND LABOR DAY.

It is eminently fitting that THE HERALD, as the representative of the Social Democratic Party, should show due recognition of Labor Day. This day is consecrated to the working class, and the Social Democratic Party is the party of that class.

What shall be said of Labor's holiday and its opportunities? The interrogatory is inviting. Much can be said and will be said, but only that is worthy of consideration which provokes inquiry or challenges reflection.

Where the day is given wholly to sports, most of which do not rise above the "greased pig" level, its significance is lost. For such as these, Labor Day means nothing except a few hours release from slavery. I would not have solemnity the order of the day—I would not deny a due share of pleasure and recreation, but above all, the central object of the day, that of discussing the rights and duties of the working class, and considering ways and means of emancipation from the bonds of capitalism, should be the commanding feature of every programme and impressed upon the minds of all.

The capitalist class are immensely pleased to see Labor Day turned into a cheap circus and given entirely to "horse-play." They commend the day and contribute to its observance and smile upon the antics of their slaves.

Long ago it was written:
"Labor itself is but a sorrowful song,
The protest of the weak against the strong."

Alas, how truly these lines describe the present situation! Think of New Bedford and Oshkosh—of the West Virginia coal miners whose "sorrowful song" has been changed to one of thanksgiving that they are not deprived of their rags and crusts and that they are permitted to remain upon the earth. They have been sunk to a level where they seem glad that "the many still must labor for the one."

Think of the railroad employees who have become too weak to protest—who are satisfied if the haying hounds of the blacklist no longer pursue them and who willingly wear chains as the price of the bread their loved ones eat. I have seen them all over this fair land, and at the dead of night, when others slept, have heard the whispered stories of their pursuit, capture and moral death. At the approach of a boss I have seen the smile of servility light up their faces while hate and scorn rioted in their hearts.

Victor Hugo said:

"A smile in iron! Can anything be more hideous? He who is not free is not a man; he who is not free has no sight, no knowledge, no discernment, no growth, no comprehension, no will, no faith, no love; he has no wife and children; he has only a female with young."

Here we have themes for Labor Day for ten thousand rostrums. Let the burning, quivering issues be discussed and let the truth ring wherever the voice of labor is heard.

The antiquated "pure and simple" actor who saws the air and exclaims "Labor omnia vincit," has fulfilled his mission if he ever had one. To the everlasting rear with the "leader" who persists that there is nothing better than the strike and boycott, and who opposes political action.

How many more thousands of workmen are to be clubbed, imprisoned, mangled and murdered before the fact is recognized that emancipation does not lie in that direction?

There is but one course out of the slough of capitalism and that is Socialism. Progressive trades unionists, such, for instance, as compose the Central Labor Union of Cleveland, realize this fact and are shaping policies and adopting tactics to meet demands. While struggling to maintain what they have on the economic field, they are preparing to fight the enemy on the political field by organizing, not in antagonism to, but in support of, their trades-unions, into a class-conscious, that is to say, independent and uncompromising political party, and, this done, as it will be done throughout the country, it will not take long to put the enemy to rout, and then for the first time in the history of all the ages it can truthfully be declared that "Labor omnia vincit."

The Social Democratic Party is in harmony with the progressive spirit of

the day. It is the friend and ally of trades-unions. It does not believe in destroying them, but in molding and adapting them to modern needs in the economic struggle. The trades-unions are ours, built by our labor and consecrated by our suffering, and we propose that they shall serve the noble purpose for which they were intended by rescuing them from those who would dwarf and restrain and subvert them, that they may pursue unfettered their march to emancipation.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

CAPITALISM IN THE SOUTH.

From every section of the South comes fresh news daily that the workers are awakening to the true significance of the labor movement. Wherever industry has developed to the point where the line of demarcation between employer and employee is sharply drawn, there also will be found Socialists and Socialist propaganda. Side by side with the expansion of capitalism in the "New South" rises the Socialist agitator and organization.

Basking complacently in the contemplation of his own shrewdness and cunning, the capitalist entered the South, built railroads, factories and workshops, opened up coal and iron ore mines, grabbed up the richest agricultural lands, corrupted legislatures, trafficked in city councils, swindled, robbed and exploited in the manner peculiar to his tribe convinced that here at last was the promised land where the negritar dwelt not and the way of the exploiter of labor would be serene and uninterrupted for all time to come. And for a time things did look rosy to the view and alluring to the senses of the self-sufficient capitalist. But with the departure of the "boom" days there came a different condition of things. Business lost its effervescent character and the era of commercialism set in in earnest. Reduction after reduction in wages took place, improved machinery was ushered into use, and an army of unemployed appeared. All this because capitalism was probing for a foundation, throwing off superfluous waste and establishing commerce upon an economical and scientific basis. The trades-unions organized during the "boom" were not made up of the material necessary to withstand the rapid transition from a competitive to a semi-capitalistic state. They received a shock that almost swept them out of existence. The survivors found new problems, new difficulties confronting them, and out of the wreck and ruin arose a new agitator—not the antediluvian exhorter of the "rights of capital and the rights of labor"—but a new agitator who, quick, observing, intelligent, grasped (crudely perhaps at first) the true meaning of things and with a fresh, clear light shining upon his brain, raised his voice and wielded his pen for Socialism. And to-day there is not a city, factory town or mining camp in the South which does not contain its Socialist or Socialist club, branch or section.

Capitalism's progress in the South has been swift and wonderful, the change in ten years being nothing short of marvelous. Still a very young section industrially, yet the condition of the workers in the cities and mineral districts is as bad as anywhere else in America. Wages have been pounded down almost to the level of bare subsistence. The factory system in the largest cities is, I am convinced, worse than in New England, and the stories told of the northern coal fields can find their counterpart in those of Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee. The farmers are selling their produce at prices lower than was ever dreamed of before. The young men are swarming into the cities from the farms, and accepting wages which stagger the city worker. The small business man is being forced to the wall, and is joining the army of unemployed. Small stores are wiped out and department stores are springing up. Traditions and customs, hoary with age, are being torn up by the roots and scattered, never to return. The color question is no longer a potent factor; white and black are in the same boat and the recognition of the identity of interests is becoming more general. "Race conscious-

ness" is giving way to class consciousness.

With conditions such as these, with a growing number of intelligent, clear-cut, energetic, Socialists springing up on every hand despair and pessimism have no place among us. True, there may be in certain places labor organizations unworthy of the name, labor officials who are such for their own and the capitalists' benefit, and these may seem to prosper now, but their prosperity will be short-lived. When the time comes they will be swept aside and progressive organizations and progressive men will take their places.

On this Labor Day, the Socialists of the South have cause to be hopeful and enthusiastic. Standing sure-footed and secure upon safe, economic grounds, the present has no terror for us, the future only opens to us work to be done, duties to be performed. Renewing our pledges to the cause of the working class, we will face the future filled with determination that our labors will not cease this side of the grave until the capitalist system of production and distribution has been destroyed and Socialism has triumphed.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 23, 1898.

LABOR'S DAY.

The day of Capitalism is drawing to a close, and the day of Labor is at hand. The day of Capitalism has been a long and a terrible one for the toilers who have had to bear its burden and its fierce heat, and have sweated and fainted and died under it. Many of them, unable longer to hold out, have sought death by their own hands; and many more, in dogged endurance, have toiled on, weak and weary, in the slower death of an existence deprived of all that marks off the human from the animal, of all that makes life worth while.

But the end of that day draws near, thank God! All honor to those toilers who would not die without a murmur, who would not submit in passive endurance to the insistent encroachments of capital. All reverence to those who dared the lash of the law and the bloodhounds of hunger for Freedom's sake, and would not be slaves! All homage and heart's devotion to those who, throughout the century, have taken their lives in their hands in defense of their rights as they saw them, and so worked out a grander result than they dreamed of! What matters it if they did not grasp the full scope of the problem with which they were struggling? They struggled. What matters it that they did not foresee the worldwide and everlasting effect of their protest and their sacrifice? They protested and sacrificed; and future generations will reap the seed they sowed. The coral insects in their cells do not realize to what shapes of beauty and higher usefulness their little lives are tending. Our union men, even though they did not go into all the subtleties of Socialist political economy, yet recognized with ever-increasing inclusiveness their common interests as against those of the exploiting class, and that in union there is strength to protect those interests. They have kept before the minds of the people in general the fact that there is a labor problem, and a problem that will not down until it is solved. The fellahen of Egypt were not a race of strikers; and they are to-day using the same implements and utensils and wearing the same shackles that their fathers did in the days of the Pharaohs. If the wage-workers did not create and keep alive this irrepressible problem, if they calmly submitted to be slaves, who would listen to the arguments and theories of Socialists?

In the broader view of the evolution of the race, even the purest and simplest kind of trades unionism is no mistake.

In the final triumph of the principles of union and brotherhood, every trades unionist who ever went on strike, whether he won or lost, will be at last a victor.

And we, if we do our duty according to our light as nobly and as undilutely as they did theirs, we shall do well. And if we know enough to go ahead and do our day's stint of world's work in its place, and build upon the foundation these others have laid in toil and tears, but upon the solid rock, instead of trying vainly to tear it down to make way for one of our own present-day imagining, we may be as useful in our day in the evolution of the race toward Socialism as the pure and simple trades unions and the defeated strikers were in theirs.

We may earn that highest of all honors—we may be used to help bring about Labor's Day.

MARGARET HAILE.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

THE...FRIEND
OF.....TRADES
UNIONISM.

ROSA PROLETAIRE TO BROTHER JOHN.

Dear Brother John:—Labor Day demonstrations with capitalist politicians as orators are a disgrace to organized labor. I don't know what you may think about this. Perhaps you admit the truth of my assertion; perhaps you consider it unwise to use such language on Labor Day, fearing that it might cause ill feelings.

Be that as it may, you know, Brother John, that flattery is none of my virtues, and when it comes to the question of telling the truth I am ever ready to express my opinion freely and fearlessly, though it may cause ill feelings with some people. What have the capitalist politicians to do with our Labor Day? Is it not their main object to deceive and belie the organized wage workers? Their glorification of labor's cause—is it not a most poisonous pill capsuled in shells of sugar? What have the capitalist politicians done for labor?

Our conservative labor leaders say the capitalist politicians have done a great deal for "us fellows." Oh, yes; if "we fellows" consider ourselves the lowest, most foolish sort of mules, then we may believe that these political hirelings of our masters have done much for us, since we are still permitted to live under their rule and vote for our oppressors on each and every election day.

Tell me, John, what have they done for us poor wage slaves? Answer, John. Answer my question before listening to another capitalist fake orator next Monday.

Is it not true that our present capitalist system, with all its crimes and horrors, is the ideal of the capitalist politician? Is it not true that every law enacted by these hirelings is for the benefit of our masters? Is it not true that these fellows in our national, state and municipal legislatures silently sanction every crime committed against the working class? And still these mercenaries of capitalism, no matter how "liberal," how "radical," or how anti-monopolistic they pretend to be, are invited to deliver the Labor Day orations?

Draw the line! Let every wage-worker decide on which side of the "trocha" he wants to fight. There are but two general interests at stake: The class interests of capitalism and the interests of the working class. There are but two armies in this great struggle between capitalism and labor. Take your choice.

At this very moment the fight is on more serious than ever before. During the last twelve months we have witnessed the bloody work of Hazelton, the terrible fight in Oshkosh, and the present state of civil war in Panama, Ill. Hazelton—our brothers shot down and killed like dogs! Their families suffering! The murderers exonerated! By whom? By the capitalist politicians in office. By the political and judicial tools of our masters.

To all those conservative, good-natured, "practical" labor leaders that are so fond of listening to capitalist Labor Day orations, I should earnestly recommend: "Invite Sheriff Martin of Hazelton! He will give you a splendid Labor Day oration on the subject: Harmony Between Capital and Labor."

The recent woodworkers' strike in Oshkosh, the present miners' strike in Panama—is this not strong enough a pill to cure you of your capitalist politics? Don't you be afraid. You will get more Hazeltons, Oshkoshes and Panas in the near future. Our American bourgeoisie is just beginning to "expand." Our masters are just considering the "annexation of China." They insist on having a "fair share" of the world's market. They want our New England Yankees to manufacture the cheap goods for the Chinese coolies, and the moment the Yankee wage-workers will not behave nicely and work cheaply the "free American sovereigns" will get some more doses of Sheriff Martin's medicine.

Brother John, in case you are to be called upon to make a Labor Day

speech, I trust that you will give the poor wage slaves straight goods. Talk Socialism pure and simple and give them clearly and distinctly to understand that "Labor Day" will soon be robbed of its historical importance or become a thing of the past, provided the wage-workers will recognize the fact that the modern labor movement can be made a permanent success only by putting it on the rock foundation of scientific Socialism. John, remember this.

Your beloved sister,
ROSA PROLETAIRE.

A THOUGHT FOR LABOR DAY.

Every man belongs to a party. Every workingman identifies himself with a party as soon as he is able to vote, and even before. It is the duty of everyone to take part in politics, for ours is a government of and by the people, and if the people do not take part or if they let others do the active work, they must not complain if we have bad government and government for a certain class only. The workers of the country are the strength of the country. They produce the wealth, although by reason of the profit system and the private ownership of machinery, they are not able to possess the wealth after they have created it. The workers being the most valuable and worthy part of the population, it is clear that the government should be run in their interests. But for much the same reason that the most industrious people are the least rewarded in the matter of comfortable living and proper food, just so they are the least thought of by the government which their presence in the land gives stability to. These are things it is true laborers thought over.

The toilers are the vast majority of the population. If that vast majority once determined to do a certain thing, no power under the heavens could block its path. If that majority determined that this country should be run honestly and that the industrious only should have its best protection, all other interests would vanish before it like the dew before the sun. When that majority of worthy but misused people wakes up to its real needs, something will drop, and drop hard. When it does wake up, look out for fun!

In olden times when the kings wanted to keep their discontented subjects in submission they got up wars, appealed to the patriotism of the masses and the people forgot their troubles and went forth to claw each other to pieces for the glory of their despotic rulers. It is much the same in the political field to-day. There are two parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, both managed and controlled in the interests of the capitalist class. Between these parties fake issues are sprung on the unsuspecting people and thus the toilers are kept divided. They go to the polls and fight each other, and the capitalists and their hirelings, the politicians, smile slyly to themselves, and look upon it as a great joke. Just watch it for yourself. As soon as election time comes round the politicians begin to talk of certain "issues." They get the people worked up over them and then after they have caught their game and the election is over, the issues die out of the public mind.

Fortunately for the workers, the workers themselves have a party, and all the corruption money in the coffers of the plutocrats cannot buy it. That party is the Social Democratic party, and it aims to change the system so that private ownership of machinery and land will disappear. It insists that the people shall live as brothers instead of as masters and servants. It has grown out of the heart of the toilers and stands for the best interests of all humanity.

When the workingman begins to take an interest in politics he must make a choice of parties. Which shall he choose? Shall he choose one of the capitalist parties, which is simply making game of his ignorance, or shall he join the party that stands for his own people, the Social Democratic party? His own good sense ought to tell him which.

To all the toilers of the city and country, I offer this thought for Labor Day. It is a serious matter; it must not be passed by without deliberation.

FREDERICK HEATH.

Social Democratic Herald.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
OF AMERICA.

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EDITOR—A. S. EDWARDS.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:—One Year, \$60;

Six Months, \$30. Address

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD,

Room 56, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.



CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 3, 1898.

FUND FOR PRINTING OUTFIT.

Miners of Spring Valley, Ill. \$6.50
E. H. Rooney, Milwaukee. 40
Miners of Spring Valley, Ill. 50.00
Branch No. 6, Missouri. 5.00
C. Altenberndt. 25
Branch 9, Massachusetts. 1.50
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Under Socialism no man would have
any rights—without duties.

If you would be truly patriotic these
days, you must be an imperialist.

Hanna is an imperialist, and who is
there to question Hanna's patriotism?

True Americanism nowadays re-
quires the repudiation of your old-time
patriotism.

Socialism is a system of co-working
for social efficiency, supplemented by
equity in distribution.

If the poor are vicious, consider the
system of which they are products—
a system which the rich would main-
tain!

If workmen will have nothing to
do with Socialism, that is no reason
why Socialists should have nothing to
do with them.

There is nothing under the stars
that is not amenable to change—except
perhaps the stupidity of the wage-
slave who supports capitalist parties.

Wealth was never produced except
by the association of industry with
the resources of nature. No combina-
tion of capitalists has ever produced
wealth.

All true capital is a product of labor.
Capital in and of itself is barren.
Labor, applied to the bounty of nature,
has created all capital and is the source
of all value.

Capitalism does not call human be-
ings property, but it uses men, women
and children as capital. The great
majority of the working class are used
as nothing else than capital.

The lives of workmen are the
dullest, their leisure the shortest, their
opportunities the fewest, and their re-
wards the scantiest. Socialism will
multiply their rewards, broaden their
opportunities, lengthen their leisure
and brighten their lives.

As at the beginning of the century
men were largely masters of their
handicrafts, so near the beginning of
the next, they will be no longer sub-
ject to the caprice of private capital-
ists, but the owners of machinery and
masters of economic power.

The need of cheaper production is
forcing the employment of female
labor in some of the brass foundries
of the West. The Cleveland Recorder
is authority for the statement that
10,000 women are employed in indus-
tries of that city in positions which,
a few years ago, were occupied by men
only.

Since all progress, fundamentally
considered, consists in the subjection
of the rude elements of nature and
the transforming of materials into
socially useful things for the suste-
nance and comfort of the race, the
producers of wealth are deserving of
and ought to receive the first consid-
eration. And under Socialism they
would.

Senator Cushman K. Davis, of the peace
commissioners, says we want more
battleships and after that "more
cruisers and battleships again," and
the Chicago Tribune, joining the
chorus of the imperialists, says "the
senator expresses the sentiments of his
constituents." It would be more cor-
rect to say that the senator expresses

the sentiments of some of his con-
stituents.

A portion of the capitalist press
affects to ridicule the idea of im-
perialism in America, but at a recent
meeting of the Pennsylvania Bankers'
Association, one of the speakers in a
speech which the reports say "was full
of patriotism," open declared himself
an imperialist and advocated imperia-
lism.

That men, women and children are
degraded and society as a whole
greatly injured by private ownership
of the machinery of production, none
can deny. It is that simple fact, sim-
ple but stupendous in its importance,
that will yet force the true and only
solution—Social ownership of ma-
chinery, to step misery and promote
happiness.

Opponents of government owner-
ship, and especially those who see in
the simplest expansion of government
functions an approach to Socialism,
seem to be overlooking the fact that
the government proposes to operate a
line of ships between the United States
and its "newly acquired possessions." What have the private corporations to
say to this?

The principal ground on which dear
old Senator George F. Hoar is being
urged for ambassador to Great Britain
is that he is the "one American who,
without great wealth, could maintain
the prestige of an ambassador to Lon-
don, for he is almost the only Ameri-
can who could safely live as he liked." As an indication of the pure snobbery
to which we have descended, this is
very rich.

What is the social prospect on this
Labor Day of 1898? There are Alps
of affluence and glory, and abysses of
misery and want; there are peaks of
plenty bathed in sunshine, and morasses
of privation steeped in night; there is
honor and ease for the idle and en-
nuing, and pearly hopeless slavery for
the skillful and industrious; there is
power and place for the brutal and
unscrupulous, and bitter days and
nights of sorrow for the worthy and
useful; there is one class made rich by
immoral and fraudulent means to hold
and the legalized larceny of wealth,
and another poor and wretched be-
cause they have been robbed—poor,
not so much from faults of their own
as from the greed and heartlessness
of those by whose special privileges
they are wronged and oppressed.

THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

Whatever may be the motive of the
Russian Czar in proposing disarmament
of the nations, it cannot but be
regarded as a proposition of far-reach-
ing and stupendous importance. The
cry for peace, coming from one of the
most powerful of the ruling class, is,
of course, the veriest mockery.

There can be no peace while the
rulership of that class exists. Only
its complete abolition and the substi-
tution of national and international ad-
ministration of the industries and busi-
nesses of the people on a purely demo-
cratic basis, can insure to the world
the blessings of peace. It cannot for
a moment be supposed that the Czar
suggests disarmament as a step pre-
liminary to the inauguration of Social-
ism. And yet, so surely as the nations
disband their standing armies and
beat their swords into plowshares,
would the final triumph of Socialism
be brought nearer and diffuse the
blessings of peace throughout the
world.

But no such prospect is before us.
Nevertheless, it may well be pointed
out that the bare suggestion of the
Czar is another indication, clear and
unmistakable, of the breaking up of
the present system. The "burden of
it all" is the procuring cause of the
idea; the load is too great and the ruin
too awful. Then, too, it is a timely
and significant warning to that loud-
mouthed patriotism which in America
is demanding the burden and the ruin
of a great military establishment.

But if the nations were disarmed,
what then? What can the present eco-
nomic system offer to the millions of
men who would be thrown upon it?
With machinery displacing labor in
every branch of industry, and millions
unable to gain a living; with every
profession overworked, thousands
starving or living precariously in an al-
most hopeless struggle to exist, and
thousands more from college and uni-
versity forced into them and making
the condition more perplexing; with
opportunities for individual enterprise
ever lessening and great capitalistic
undertakings ever enlarging; with
monopoly in control of the earth's
bounty and of the means of produc-
tion, where are the millions of soldiers
to go and how are they to obtain a
livelihood?

Millions of men in every country
on the globe are already mustered out
of the world's army of workers, and
misery and want are worldwide con-
ditions; act on the Czar's proposition,
strip the military uniform from men
and throw them into the competitive
struggle for wages, and what becomes
of the capitalist system? Socialists
would, of course, hail with delight the
realization of the Muscovite idea, be-
cause Socialism alone would be ade-
quate as a solution. But will court
czars and capitalist czars bring on that
issue? We shall see.

SOCIALISM AND THE FARMERS.

Advocates of a Co-operative Com-
monwealth of industry, differ widely
as to the methods of bringing the new
system into effect, as well as the period
of time which will necessarily elapse
before their hopes can be realized. Differences of opinion on these sub-
jects among those who have studied
them are to be expected. No man,
however great his ability, can master
all the details of a science so vast as
is sociology; yet it would be neces-
sary to do this in order to predict the
exact course of industrial events. This
much, however, is certain, that the
development of industrial affairs is
now going on at a rapid rate, and that
changes of a stupendous character are
almost at hand.

That agricultural industry is being
affected simultaneously with urban in-
dustries, is a matter too plain for suc-
cessful denial. The extent, however,
to which agricultural industry is being
affected, may perhaps furnish matter
for controversy.

While it is true that the farming
lands in the United States are still
widely distributed among millions of
owners, this fact does not at all con-
flict with the view that the farming in-
dustry is subject to a competition
rapidly growing to be as strong as that
which has forced the concentration of
the urban industries into the hands of
a few men of great wealth. And it is
this great competition, and not the
concentration of industry, which is
merely the result of competition, that
is ripening the fields for the harvest of
Socialism.

It is true that the land, economically
considered, is only an instrument of
production, and that this instrument
is still to a very large extent in the
hands of the men who toil upon it. In
this respect the farming industry is
still unlike the mechanical or urban in-
dustries. But when competition has
forced the prices of farm products to
a point at which the American farmer
can no longer subsist, at the standard
of living to which he has been ac-
customed for generations, he may not,
owing to his peculiar situation, be able
to unite with his fellows to form a
trust, or combine, or great corporation
to absorb the industry, but he will turn
to organized society for relief, which
can be afforded him only by the estab-
lishment of a co-operative and all-em-
bracing system of industry, in which
all the necessities, and comforts of life
shall be produced, and in which all the
workers shall share. In other words,
the farmers' trust will be the nation
itself.

That the competition, not only of the
farmers of the United States with each
other, but also with India, Russia,
Egypt, the South American states, and
even with Africa, is driving the price
of farm products below that at which
the farmer can subsist at his ac-
customed standard, is being rapidly
proved. The opening of the Suez canal
has brought the vast and fertile terri-
tory of India almost to the very gates
of Europe; and the astonishing im-
provements in steam machinery for
transportation has decreased the cost
of carrying the products of these coun-
tries to a mere trifle, compared to what
it was only twenty years ago. It is
this foreign competition in the markets
of the world, between the United
States and countries in which labor
can be had for seven cents a day, that
will rapidly make Socialists of the
farmers; and this will happen before
many more years have elapsed.

Collective or common ownership of
land will never be forced upon the
farmers by any other power than com-
petition. Their lands will never be
taken from them by organized society
against their will, for the contrary,
competition will make their lands
valueless, and the farmers will be glad
to shelter their defenseless heads be-
neath the protecting shield of the frat-
ernal commonwealth.

This condition is not far off. Already
thousands of acres of land in the east-
ern part of this country, which once
afforded a living to a great population,
have been abandoned. And this is true
also of some parts of Europe, except
when crops fail in other countries, the
prices of farming products already
sink in this country below the cost of
production.

Socialism is very near us. Its com-
ing will not long be delayed. It will
come, not with one industry at a time,
as some suppose, but all at once, as the
rising sun bursts upon the darkened
earth, flooding the world with the sun-
shine of happiness.

JESSE COX.

WHERE TRADES UNIONISTS

WILL FIND THE S. D. P.

The trades union movement
and independent political ac-
tion are the chief emancipa-
ting factors of the working
class, the one representing its
economic, the other its politi-
cal wing, and both must
cooperate to abolish the capi-
talist system of production
and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform.

THOUGHTS FOR LABOR DAY.

The first and greatest demand of
a man's nature is to be free. The second
is the opportunity to better his condi-
tion. Freedom and opportunity make
the pursuit of happiness possible. And
happiness is after all the aim and
object of all men.

Now, to begin with, are we free?

It is true, state constitutions, party
platforms, preambles, etc., usually call
the inhabitants of this country a free
people. But to call a man free does
not make him so. To call a country
a republic does not mean that the peo-
ple rule.

What does it mean to be free? For
one to be master of the conditions of
his own life, or at least to enjoy an
equal right for an existence with every-
body else.

What is it to be a slave? To be
compelled to accept the conditions of
another for the privilege of existing.
Whoever controls the conditions by
which I live is my master. If a man
has to sell himself, i. e., his time, to
another individual in order to make a
living, his life depends upon somebody
else. It is resurrecting slavery when
my labor must sell like corn and cattle
to the highest bidder. To show me a
printed piece of paper wherein it is
stated that I am free and born equal
with my master means to mock my
misery. It is foolishness to say that
the workman is free to accept the
terms of the employer or to reject
them. The laborer must accept. When
the alternative is starvation or exile,
it is preposterous to talk about free-
dom of contract. If the workmen
were at least as sure of shelter, cloth-
ing and food as are their employers,
then there would be some freedom of
contract—now there is not. The neces-
sity that compels me to toil for an-
other makes me the other's slave.

Workmen are merchandise now.
The abolition of chattel slavery
brought to an end only one form of
servitude.

And in some aspects this modern
form of slavery is even worse than
the old one. The old slave was at
least sure of getting work and being
taken care of under all circumstances,
even when sick or old. For, the chat-
tel slave represented capital that be-
longed to his master. A good slave
was worth \$1,500—or even more, some-
times—and a capitalist will take good
care of a \$1,500 horse or a \$1,500
machine, we know. So the chattel
slave got good medical treatment when
sick and was cared for when old, for
if he could not do much work he could
do a little, which was better than noth-
ing.

How about the wage slave? Does
the employer, who often does not even
know him by name, care when he is
sick? Or when he is old? The em-
ployer is losing nothing by his perish-
ing. There are plenty waiting for a
chance to take his place.

There are now over a million work-
men idle all the year round—dur-
ing the so-called "good times," al-
though willing to work and depending
on work for the support of their fami-
lies. There are now over three million
men idle part of the year, during
periods extending from six weeks to
eight months, also during the "good
times." The number of unemployed
reaches four million during "hard
times."

Talk about patriotism. About the
"stars and stripes." What is left to
the poor tramp but the "stars and
stripes?"—the stars above him when
he camps in the free air in summer
and the "stripes" upon him when he
is sent to the "correction house" in
winter.

But they tell us that this is the neces-
sary effect of machinery. That ma-
chinery "saves labor." But we ask
what is right? Did genins brood over
books and drawings, work about
models and laboratories to lift the bur-
den from the laborer's back and give
the toiler time for mental feasts and
domestic pleasures? Or does the
genius of humanity intend that by his
achievements millions of human beings
shall be retired to their miserable
abodes and die there of hunger and
want? provided they do not prefer to
leave their homes and families and be-
come tramps.

Capital is called the fruits of labor
saved. Well, if so, the capitalist saves
the fruit of the labor of others. Our
ruling class says that all wages come
from capital. The contrary is true, all
modern capital comes from wages that
have not been paid. Modern capital,
where it does not originate from direct
robbery, originates in the unpaid sur-
plus over the wage-worker's consump-
tion.

We understand that all this has
come by historical development. That
under the present economic system the
workman cannot get the full value
of his product because the employer
(the capitalist) must nowadays make
a profit on the work of his laborers.
That this is considered perfectly right
and legal and necessary. That if the
capitalist, the owner of the machinery
and the raw material, does not see any
profit in engaging workmen for the
purpose of producing, he will not pro-
duce. That his selfishness is excusa-
ble and necessary.

But if the spirit of selfishness is to
predominate and control the entire
human race—so are we selfish. And
since we cannot help ourselves indi-
vidually, since the means of produc-
tion are so concentrated now that only
in collective form can they be returned

to us. OUR selfishness has taken a
COLLECTIVE FORM. And the pro-
gress of the age and the existence of
civilization depends upon the success
of OUR selfishness.

We must help all in order to help
ourselves. And that is our aim. That is the aim
of Socialism.

We Socialists protest against daily
ing cash and demonizing man. We
against exalting the products of labor
and degrading the laborer. We
that a brave, industrious man, factory
worker or farmer, who lives and loves
is better than a pile of gold or a pack-
age of greenbacks. We demand that
even to-day in every industry requir-
ing dead capital and living work—
and labor—the man should be con-
sidered the more important of the two.

We resent the refined brutality that
excuses enforced idleness and its com-
mitant evils—misery, starvation and
shame—by arguing that the "price of
labor must be regulated by the law
of supply and demand." If labor is to
be regulated by supply and demand,
then we, the producers, want to have
the control of the supply and the de-
mand. And there is only one way to
do it, i. e., by public ownership.

But there are Americans who claim
that while public ownership might be
all right in other countries, it would
never do in this, because here we would
have too much stealing. Is that a good
argument? Aside from the fact that
stealing is going on now, because peo-
ple are made corrupt by necessity and
by the insecurity of our economic con-
ditions that compels even the rich to
steal—can it be that the American peo-
ple have become so dishonest in their
nature that they dare not trust them-
selves to do their own business? If so,
then the time has come when we must
give the scepter of civilization to an-
other race.

That time has not come. But the
time has come for a thorough, general
"house-cleaning."

There are two ways of effecting great
social changes in a republic—the ballot
and the bullet, and we may have use
for both of them. But no one but a
fool will consider the latter now, un-
til the former has been used with all
the effect in it.

And I believe the ballot has great
efficiency. I believe that while the
ballot itself will not make us free, it
will put the means into our hands of
achieving our freedom.

For that purpose the ballot must be
used in the right way. If you want
Democratic Socialism you must have
a Social Democratic Party. None of
the old parties can help us. Capital-
ism has no special politics but suc-
cess. "Money is no object" if it will
secure the interest of capitalism. The
leading editors, lawyers, and politi-
cians of all capitalist parties, including
the dead Populists, are in the constant
employ of the capitalists. Just think
of it: Thousands of daily and weekly
papers identify capitalism with pa-
triotism and Socialism with disorder.
Over two hundred thousand politi-
cians, from the Republican president
of the United States down to the Popu-
list garbage inspectors in Milwau-
kee, are for a similar purpose paid in
cash by capitalism from the earnings
of labor. It is the business of these
politicians to warn the people against
Socialism and to tell them to demand
"protection," or free silver, or to "re-
solve" to demand the "referendum"
of the lawmakers. These politicians will
tell you: "Look out for the Socialists!
They want to break up your party,"
or, "The Socialists are d— fools. They
want to divide up everything;" while
as a matter of fact Socialists do not
concern themselves about the capital-
ist parties and want to stop the divi-
sion of property that is going on now.

In short, capitalism controls all nat-
ural resources, the money, the com-
merce, the transportation lines, the
congress, courts, legislatures and ex-
ecutives; it controls the press, the
churches, the police, the militia, and
the political leaders. There is no hope
unless the laboring people—the pro-
ducers of the country—organize in one
great body which will fight capitalism
everywhere, in politics, in the press,
in the pulpit, in the economic field, and
in all spheres if the time and the neces-
sity arrives.

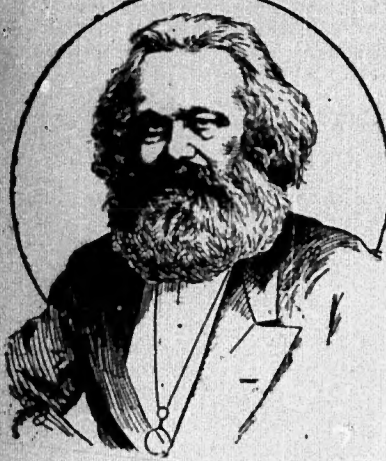
I concede that this preaching is "law-
less." But what of it? Lawlessness
of the right kind is a lever that has
moved the world forward. It was by
an unlawful conspiracy that the Magna
Charta was obtained; the Reformation
was a rebellion against God and the
Holy Church; regicide, then the "black-
est of crimes," barred out of the Eng-
lish constitution the doctrine of "di-
vine right;" grand larceny in Boston
harbor led up to the Declaration of In-
dependence; the blood of kings, bish-
ops and nobles washed away feudalism
in France; and John Brown's law-
less raid freed the negro slave. We
should be grateful if the social revolu-
tion, the freeing of seventy-five million
whites would not cost more blood than
the freeing of four million negroes in
1861. And the better we are organ-
ized, the more political power and so-
cial strength we obtain, the less bloody
the revolution will be.

Therefore, workmen of America,
organize in your unions; join the So-
cial Democratic Party; and think of
the tremendous duty before you. These
are the only befitting thoughts for
Labor Day, A. D. 1898.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

Where millionaires are surfeited
millions are suffering.

"The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain. Workmen of all countries, unite!"



KARL MARX.

getting a new supply of wage-labor for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labor. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

"To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

"Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power. When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

"Let us now take wage labor.

"The average price of wage-labor is the minimum wage, i. e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the laborer in bare existence as a laborer. What, therefore, the wage-laborer appropriates by means of his labor, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labor, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labor of others. All that we want to do away with, is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the laborer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only insofar as the interests of the ruling class requires it."

"The earlier scientific Socialists called themselves Communists.

From the "Communist Manifesto."

WRITTEN BY MARX AND ENGELS IN 1847.

"We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labor, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

"Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

"Or, do you mean modern (bourgeois) private property?

"Int does wage-labor create any property for the laborer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i. e., that kind of property which exploits wage-labor, and which cannot increase except upon condition of being exploited. Property, in its present form,

getting a new supply of wage-labor for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labor. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

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"The earlier scientific Socialists called themselves Communists.

THE WAGE-SLAVE'S DREAM.

[Written for the Herald.]
Not time, but toll and care had howed his form
And furrowed deep his face,
As, writhed, bent and shattered by life's storm,
He stood and mused a space:
"My days are spent; and yet I have not lived!
Mid mouldering hopes I stand.
My strength is gone, yet naught have I achieved
Of all my youth had planned.
"In life's bright dawn, with high ambition filled,
Invincible and free,
I planned the house of life my hands should build.
The Man that I should be!
"I would be great; men poor and as-unlearned,
As fettered in the race,
Had greatly blest their kind, and nobly earned
Fame, happiness and place.
"I would surmount all obstacles at length,
Treasures of knowledge gain,
To me should honor's portals open by the strength
Of mine own hand and brain."

"Caught in the mad world's fierce, resistless coil,
As by some monster dread,
From drowsy morn till weary night I toil,
To win—but daily bread!

"With other toll-worn slaves, like those who built the pyramids of old,
My strength of hand and brain, my blood is sold
To keep our Pharaoh's gold!

"Vainly I clutched at knowledge; idle breath
Was all my glowing plan!
A wage-slave's life is aspiration's death,
And leaves him less than man.

"I've builded palaces and served dainty fare,
Made garments kingly fine,
Yet, homeless, hungry, in a hovel bare,
In wretched rags I pine.

"My days are spent, and yet I have not lived!
Mid mouldering hopes I stand!
My strength is gone, yet naught have I achieved
Of all my youth had planned!"

—MARGARET HAILE.

NOON HOUR WISDOM.

Having read about what they are doing with Socialistic mission wagons over in England—they call them vans there—I felt like throwing up my hat and shouting when last week's Herald brought the news that Comrades Anna Ferry Smith and Mary Jones had been furnished a wagon and were about to start off across country. Bless them in the work, two braver hearts could not be enlisted!

In England the vans sell large quantities of Socialistic literature and in other ways do a wonderful work. The reports of the meetings held by the van inmates furnishes the roughest kind of reading. Of course in England, the small size of the country and the close proximity of the towns makes the van work easier. At almost every place Socialists from the surrounding territory, who have kept track of the route announcements, are on hand to help take part in the meetings, and there is a sort of national Socialistic bicycle organization, and its members come scorching to the wagon from all sides wherever it makes a stop. They have a plan there, too, by which the people who run the vans change off from week to week, so that almost all the workers in the field have their go at the work. But while some of these things can hardly be expected in our broad land, still vans can do a world of good. It is comparatively inexpensive propaganda, and besides it is a healthy life to lead. We ought to have a van working in every state, and more if possible.

I see they are preparing to persecute the Socialists in Germany on account of their big gain at the last election. I should think they would learn wisdom by experience, for in the past the Socialists have grown most when they were persecuted the most. A Socialist co-worker of mine says he wishes the capitalist class would try persecution in this country, for it would wake the workmen up and make them see the necessity of uniting for Socialism. I don't know but he is right. There is one trouble, though, it isn't so pleasant to go to prison in this country as it is in most European countries. Over there they make a distinction between political and criminal prisoners. Here they don't. Over there, if you are a political prisoner you get pretty decent treatment and the government takes care of your family while you are detained. Here they throw you in with the thugs and the vicious, and your family can starve for all anyone cares. You see there are some differences between monarchial countries and this Yankee land where a bird of prey serves as an emblem.

And so another Labor Day is here. Well, does it find labor any better off than it was a year ago? Alas, no! With all our progress, our growth in industries, the growing up of great fortunes, the one important factor in the whole affair remains one step removed from a beggar. Labor, the giant, is still in chains, and outside those who are in the unions, the laborers are still hugging their chains. It is a sad fact.

We are told that the wages paid are as high as the employing class can afford, and that they would have to go out of business if they had to pay higher. Then where do the big fortunes come from? Whence spring those palatial mansions and private carriages? We Socialists know that they are the sum of unpaid labor time—the surplus value—the fleecings of labor—but, alas! the laborers themselves are so slow in learning the fact!

THE PHILOSOPHER.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.]
Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 614 Chestnut street.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Mondays at 8 o'clock sharp at 614 State street. Frederic Heath, secretary, John Doerfler, treasurer.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 1311 and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Frank Whitney, secretary, 404 Broadway.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.

Colorado Branch No. 1, of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Marian Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza. The branch issues a call for a general conference of Philadelphia Socialists for Friday, 8 p. m., September 30, at 223 North Twelfth Street.

One of our New York comrades has promised 100 subscriptions to THE HERALD.

Branch 3 of Wisconsin, at Sheboygan, has been reorganized as a branch of the S. D. P. with a fine membership.

Mrs. West Paul of Osborne, O. T., sends a list of subscribers and says: "It is a paper that should be in every home." The comrades are again urged to be up and doing to procure subscriptions to THE HERALD; it is the way to make Socialists and build up strong local organizations.

Beginning with this number, or at any time from September 10 to October 29, THE HERALD will be sent in separate wrappers to single addresses nine weeks for 10 cents. This offer is made to enable comrades to push the paper during the fall campaigns. It is hoped that it will result in gaining for THE HERALD a large permanent increase in circulation.

Branch 4 of New Hampshire, at Manchester, is a Swedish branch. The comrades are doing active work, especially in securing readers for Socialistic literature. A first annual excursion is being talked of; it will probably be at a lovely lake near Manchester, and every comrade with his family and friends will co-operate to make it successful.

The following amendment to the constitution, Sec. 16, has been adopted by Branch 7 of Massachusetts, and will, no doubt, be approved and adopted by the branches generally as a reasonable safeguard of the unquestionable right of members:

"The columns of the official organs shall be at all times open to all reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party."

MORRIS JOLLES, Org.

WISCONSIN.

Interest in the state convention to be held in Milwaukee Friday evening is on the increase, and letters from various parts of the state are coming in to the central committee daily. Some splendid Socialists are developing in various sections, and a fine state movement is assured.

Plans have been perfected to send Comrades Debs, Stedman, Socke and others on tours throughout the state, and the points they will visit have been practically decided on. Reports from Oshkosh are very favorable indeed. It is assured that several live branches will be organized there as soon as we can get an organizer in the field. Oshkosh's recent experience with the claws of entrenched capitalism is decidedly in our favor.

O. A. Mack, a Milwaukee Socialist who has been traveling in Germany in the interests of a bicycle house, has returned to the city for a brief stay.

George Moerschal of Branch 4 will act as grand marshal of the Labor Day parade of the Federated Trades.

MILWAUKEE.

CONNECTICUT.

New Haven, Conn., Aug. 29, 1898.

At a meeting held on Friday, the 19th inst., in Comrade Bienstock's house, a local of the S. D. P. of A. with 13 charter members was organized, with the following comrades as officers: Chairman, Greenwald; vice-chairman, Alpert; treasurer, Lennarz (a prominent member of the S. L. P.); secretary, Bienstock, and organizer, Mahoney.

Everyone who wants to join the S. D. P. shall apply to Comrade Bienstock, at 124 Washington avenue, where the meetings of the local will be held every Friday night.

Sample copies of THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD can be gotten in the same place.

A mass meeting was held on August 23 at Thirteenth and Wyoming, under the auspices of branches Nos. 6 and 3

of St. Louis, every branch in the city being represented. Comrade Christ Rucker addressed the meeting, after which Comrade Chas. Keefer, chairman of Branch No. 3, was nominated as candidate for Congress of the Tenth Missouri district. After a general discussion on the coming state election, it was decided to call a nomination convention for September 4, 2 p. m., at Bohemian Gymnasium, Ninth and Allen avenue, St. Louis, Mo. All members should attend.

WM. RUESCHE, Secy.

ST. LOUIS CAMPAIGN NOTES

Secure members for the party and subscribers to the "S. D. Herald."

To harmonize the Socialists is all right, but to unite Socialists and anti-Socialists is and always must be a failure.

Comrade Leon Greenbaum has been very sick for some time, but is getting better and will soon again take up the good work.

Comrade Hanesler proposes the holding of a festival for the benefit of the campaign fund within a few weeks. A very good idea!

Branches 3 and 6 are ready for the political battle, and will soon be heard from. Their sphere of activity comprises the two Socialist banner wards of St. Louis.

Our comrades in St. Louis are waking up! An energetic campaign has been inaugurated. The banner of labor and Socialism will proudly wave during the fall campaign.

A clear cut Socialist movement! No fusion! No popocratic considerations! No waste of time with capitalistic would-be reforms! Socialism, clear Socialism as advocated by the International Social Democracy!

In these times of general confusion and political ignorance, it becomes an absolute necessity for the Socialists to cut a straight, clear path, and to send out the searchlight of scientific Socialism, so the people may find their way out of the wilderness of capitalism.

No comrade of St. Louis should fail to attend the convention of the Social Democratic Party of St. Louis, Sunday, September 4, at 2 o'clock p. m., at Bohemian Gymnasium, Ninth street and Allen avenue. A full ticket will be nominated. English and German speakers will address the convention.

In every congressional district of St. Louis the Social Democratic Party has nominated its candidate: Comrade Charles Keefer, chairman of Branch 3, 10th Congressional district; Comrade Charles Gebelin, organizer of the United Woodworkers' council, formerly national secretary of International Furniture Workers' Union, has been nominated for 11th Congressional district; Comrade L. P. Tomsen, of the Stationary Engineers' Union and financial secretary of Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, for the 12th Congressional district. Tomsen is an exceptionally quiet, but also exceptionally bright fellow; he is possessed of a good portion of the old Saxon fighting spirit, and he is respected by everybody. Comrades Keefer and Gebelin will also make excellent nominees on our Social Democratic ticket.

Comrade Hall, our old and earnest friend, attended last Friday's meeting of Branch 1. He enjoyed Comrade Rucker's lecture very much, but his mind and heart are still full of "Chicago convention," i. e., he still believes the "split" could have been avoided, if the "bolters" had acted differently. Every honest comrade here has the highest respect for Comrade Hall's opinion; the desire for harmony is natural with him. But the good comrade should not forget that those thirty-six men and women who left the Ulrich's Hall convention to organize the Social Democratic Party of America, are perhaps as staunch friends of harmony and peace as Comrade Hall. But seeing that the honor, the existence, the future of the Social Democratic movement was at stake, their duty compelled them to do what they did, and they did the only proper thing that could be done under the circumstances. Experience will prove that they acted right.

The Social Democratic Party of America was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898, and despite the hot season of the past two months, and the fact that no active organizer for the party has yet taken the field in its behalf, it has working branches in twelve states, and in at least half of these will this fall have candidates pledged to the Socialist principles of its platform. THE HERALD is the party's own paper, and is sent to any address one year for fifty cents.

The London Times comes to the front with the suggestion that the terms of American office holders be made longer. The suggestion will no doubt meet with a good deal of approval, and the Times will find plenty of Americans ready to take office and hold on for life.

AS I UNDERSTAND THEM.

Labor day is again here, and many people will hear Socialism preached for the first time on that day, either in private argument or from the public platform. The Socialist is coming to the front in all quarters, and he uses such terms as Capitalism, Class-consciousness, Proletaire and Bourgeois, which, to the average citizen, is so much Greek.

I notice that many heated disputes could be avoided if terms used were understood or agreed upon between those who discuss. Then, too, many people hate to ask for information that is taken for granted. I light my candle on the following:

CAPITALISM is a term used by Socialists to describe the present organization of society, as contrasted and distinguished from Feudalism, which preceded it. Capitalism may be said to begin with the payment of a money wage. But it is the wonderful development of machinery, with the accompanying factory system (associated production), that is driving society to adopt another change, which the world-wide movement for the associated ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, proclaims to be Socialism. Socialists do not fight capital, but are opposed to the capitalist.

CLASS-CONSCIOUS means that one has reached the conviction that the logical and historic development of the capitalist system is to divide society into two classes. Those who possess the means of production, distribution and exchange, and those who possess only their labor power, which classes have no mutual interests. The Socialist desires a condition of society where there will be no economic class distinctions or interests. Once thoroughly class-conscious, the individual becomes uncompromising.

PROLETARIAE (pro-la-tar) is defined by Webster as, "One of the common people; a low person; the commonality as an influence or estate in a country." The Socialist applies the word to the propertyless wage-worker, for whom he fights.

BOURGEOIS is a French word, pronounced boor-zhawn, and is defined by Webster as, "A man of the middle rank in society; a citizen." This class stands between the capitalist and proletarian classes, but they are being forced into the latter class by reason of the competition resulting from the logical development of the capitalistic system.

The class-conscious Socialist regards all movements and parties calculated to foster or maintain the Bourgeoisie (boor-zhawn-zle) class as a useless waste of time; therefore, his effort to unite the proletarian class for the overthrow of classes, and, in the words of Karl Marx, says, "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" They are moving.

Timu. O. CHAS. R. MARTIN.

The world's workers have mined and molded the resources of nature and created enormous wealth, and yet they are kept in a desperate state of insecurity, while the dependent classes enjoy art, travels, luxuries and ease. Socialists advocate a system that will bestow ease, luxuries, travels and art upon all who are engaged in socially useful labor.

LABOR, OLD AND NEW.

Ben Johnson said "raising the wages of day laborers is wrong; for it does not make them live better, but only makes them idle, and idleness is a very bad thing for human nature." This thought is prevalent to-day in different forms. It is said that laborers spend too much for liquor, cigars, tobacco, and so forth.

Such sentiments have been common, from the time the rude swain first broke the sod and the first artisan lifted his trowel, because in the past and present, slavery, i. e., services forced by lash or hunger, has been made demeaning and contemptible in the eyes of the "masters of bread."

Listen to "God's white winged messengers of peace!" the shots and death at Oshkosh, Hazelton, Cour d'Alene; the mean from the bread rioters of Italy and Spain. Labor has never unitedly protested against its chains, and there is no honor in the breast of the unprotesting slave. Dishonor never receives respect.

Labor now and then has a recess, a day for repairs. Labor Day is yet to come.

Antiquity had its Gods of heroism, love, hatred, music, poetry, peace and war; almost every virtue and vice was expressed by some deified form. But labor was so low, degrading, mean and servile, that no God could be found to receive its homage.

While the caravan on the sands and the galleys on the seas were impelled by servile hands, the sun blistering bent backs, and winter's blasts freezing the Titans upon whose shoulders the world was poised, still there was no day of triumph, galas or festivities in their honor; the scourge, the lash, the goal, whipping cart, and red hot iron was the incentive to long hours and active, woeful effort; beasts of burden whose mingled tears and groans seldom touched a responsive heart. But brighter days have come, when one day each year we may contemplate the past, observe the present and prepare for the future.

At present the loathsome lives of many, self-destruction, want, and the agony of competitive warfare, must spur us on to valorous deeds to bring the time when no man beneath the twinkling stars shall meet his master and no master shall behold his serf.

History has demonstrated that with the receipt of an increased proportion of their products, labor becomes energetic and active, and secures a better livelihood.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

LABOR DAY MEETINGS.

Seymour Stedman, secretary of the Executive Board of the S. D. P., speaks at a meeting under the auspices of our comrades at Milwaukee.

Comrade J. L. Franz, editor of the Brauer-Zeitung, has been engaged by the United Coal Miners' Union of Staunton, Ill., to speak at that place. His expenses are to be paid by the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen.

The Social Democratic Party will provide the speakers for a great meeting to be held at Spring Valley.

Comrade George Koop will probably be the speaker of the day at Linton, Ind.

THE STRIKERS.

"It is better to starve than live on the terms you give us. Our lives, the lives of our wives and children, we set against your gains."

[From Bellamy's "Equality," sent postpaid for \$1.25.]

Presently, as we were crossing Boston common, absorbed in conversation, a shadow fell athwart the way, and looking up, I saw towering above us a sculptured group of heroic size.

"Who are these?" I exclaimed. "You ought to know if any one," said the doctor, "they are contemporaries of yours, who were making a good deal of disturbance in your day."

But, indeed, it had only been as an involuntary expression of surprise that I had questioned what the figures stood for.

Let me tell you, readers of the twentieth century, what I saw up there on the pedestal, and you will recognize the world-famous group. Shoulder to shoulder, as if rallied to resist assault, were three figures of men in the garb of the laboring class of my time. They were bearded, and their coarse-textured shirts, rolled above the elbow and open at the breast, showed the sinewy arms and chest. Before them, on the ground, lay a pair of shovels and a pickaxe. The central figure with the right hand extended, palm outward, was pointing to the discarded tools. The arms of the other two were folded on their breasts. The faces were coarse and hard in outline and bristled with unkempt beards. Their expression was one of dogged defiance and their gaze was fixed with such seething intensity upon the void space before them that I involuntarily glanced behind me to see what they were looking at. There were two women also in the group, as coarse of dress and features as the men. One was kneeling before the figure on the right, holding up to him with one arm an emaciated, half-clad infant, while with the other she indicated the implement at his feet with an imploring gesture. The second of the women was pinching by the sleeve the man on the left, as if to draw him back; while with the other hand she covered her eyes.

But the men heeded the women not at all, or seemed, in their bitter wrath, to know that they were there.

"Why?" I exclaimed, "these are strikers?"

"Yes," said the doctor, "this is the strikers. Huntington's masterpiece, considered the greatest group of statuary in the city, and one of the greatest in the country."

"Those people are alive!" I said. "That is expert testimony," replied the doctor. "It is a pity Huntington died too soon to hear it. He would have been pleased."

Now I, in common with the wealthy and cultured class generally of my day, had always held strikers in contempt and abhorrence, as blundering, dangerous marplots, as ignorant of their own best interests as they were reckless of other people's and generally as pestilent fellows, whose demonstrations, so long as they were not violent, could not unfortunately be repressed by force, but ought always to be condemned, and promptly put down with an iron hand the moment there was an excuse for police interference. There was more or less tolerance among the well-to-do, for social reformers, who, by hook or voice, advocated even very radical economic changes so long as they observed the conventionalities of speech, but for the striker there were few apologists. Of course the capitalists emptied on him the vials of their wrath and contempt, and even people who thought they sympathized with the working class shook their heads at the mention of strikes, regarding them as calculated rather to hinder than help the emancipation of labor. Bred as I was in these prejudices, it may not seem strange that I was taken aback at finding such unpromising subjects selected for the highest place in the city.

"There is no doubt as to the excellence of the artist's work," I said, "but what was there about the strikers that has made you pick them out of our generation as objects of veneration?"

"We see in them," replied the doctor, "the pioneers in the revolt against private capitalism which brought in the present civilization. We honor them as those who, like Winkelried, 'made way for liberty and died.' We revere in them the protomartyrs of co-operative industry and economic equality."

"But I can assure you, doctor, that these fellows, at least in my day, had not the slightest idea of revolting against private capitalism as a system. They were very ignorant and quite incapable of grasping so large a conception. They had no notion of getting along without capitalists; all they imagined as possible or desirable was a little better treatment by their employers, a few cents more an hour, a few minutes less working time a day, or maybe merely the discharge of an unpopular foreman. The most they aimed at was some petty improvement in their condition, to attain which they did not hesitate to throw the whole industrial machine into disorder."

"All which we moderns know quite well," replied the doctor. "Look at

those faces. Has the sculptor idealized them? Are they the faces of philosophers? Do they not bear out your statement that the strikers like the workmen generally were as a rule ignorant, narrow-minded men, with no grasp of large questions, and incapable of so great an idea as the overthrow of an immemorial economic order? It is quite true that until some years after you fell asleep they did not realize that their quarrel was with private capitalism and not with individual capitalists. In this slowness of awakening to the full meaning of their revolt, they were precisely on a par with the pioneers of all the great liberty revolutions. The minutemen at Concord and Lexington, in 1775, did not realize that they were pointing their guns at the monarchical idea. As little did the third estate of France when it entered the convention in 1789, realize that its road lay over the ruins of the throne. As little did the pioneers of English freedom, when they began to resist the will of Charles the I., foresee that they would be compelled, before they got through, to take his head. In none of these instances, however, has posterity considered that the limited foresight of the pioneers as to the full consequences of their action lessened the world's debt to the crude initiative without which the fuller triumph would never have come. The logic of the strike meant the overthrow of the irresponsible conduct of industry, whether the strikers knew it or not, and we cannot rejoice in the consequences of that overthrow without honoring them in a way which very likely, as you intimate, would surprise them, could they know of it, as much as it does you. Let me try to give you the modern point of view as to the part played by their originals." We sat down upon one of the benches before the statue, and the doctor went on:

"My dear Julian, who was it, pray, who first roused the world of your day to the fact that there was an industrial question, and by their pathetic demonstrations of passive resistance to wrong for fifty years kept the public attention fixed on that question till it was settled? Was it your statesmen, perchance your economists, your scholars or any other of your so-called wise men? No, it was just those despised, ridiculed, cursed and hooted fellows up there on that pedestal who with their perpetual strikes would not let the world rest till their wrong, which was also the whole world's wrong, was righted. Once more had God chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, the weak things to confound the mighty."

"In order to realize how powerfully these strikers operated to impress upon the people the intolerable wickedness and folly of private capitalism, you must remember that events are what teach men that deeds have a far more potent educating influence than any amount of doctrine, and especially so in an age like yours, when the masses had almost no culture or ability to reason. There were not lacking in the revolutionary period many cultured men and women, who with voice and pen espoused the workers' cause and showed them the way out; but their words might well have availed little, but for the tremendous emphasis with which they were confirmed by the men up there, who starved to prove them true. Those rough-looking fellows, who probably could not have constructed a grammatical sentence by their combined efforts, were demonstrating the necessity of a radically new industrial system, by a more convincing argument than any rhetorician's skill could frame. When men take their lives in their hands to resist oppression, as those men did, other men are compelled to give heed to them. We have inscribed on the pedestal yonder where you see the lettering the words, which the action of the group above seems to voice:

"We can bear no more. It is better to starve than live on the terms you give us. Our lives, the lives of our wives and of our children, we set against your gains. If you put your foot upon our neck, we will bite your heel."

"This was the cry," pursued the doctor, "of men made desperate by oppression, to whom existence through suffering had become of no value. It was the same cry that in varied form, but in one sense, has been the watchword of every revolution that has marked an advance of the race—Give us liberty, or give us death! and never did it ring out with a cause so adequate or wake the world to an issue so mighty, as in the months of these first rebels against the folly and the tyranny of private capital."

"In your age, I know, Julian," the doctor went on in a gentler tone, "it was customary to associate valor with the clang of arms and the pomp and circumstance of war. But the echo of the rifle and drum comes very faintly up to us and moves us not at all. The soldier has had his day, and passed

away forever with the ideal of manhood which he illustrated. But that group yonder stands for a type of self-devotion that appeals to us profoundly. "Those men risked their lives when they flung down the tools of their trade, as truly as any soldier going into battle, and took odds as desperate, and not only for themselves, but for their families, which no grateful country would care for in case of casualty to them. The soldier went forth cheered with music, and supported by the enthusiasm of the country, but these others were covered with ignominy and public contempt, and their failures and defeats were hailed with general acclamation. And yet they sought not the lives of others, but only that they might barely live; and though they had first thought of the welfare of themselves and those nearest them, yet not the less were they fighting the fight of humanity and posterity in striking in the only way they could, and while yet no one else dared strike at all, against the economic system that had the world by the throat, and would never relax its grip by dint of soft words, or anything less than disarming blows. The clergy, the economists and the pedagogues, having left these ignorant men to seek as they might the solution of the social problem, while they themselves sat at ease and denied that there was any problem, were very valuable in their criticisms of the mistakes of the workmen, as if it were possible to make any mistake in seeking a way out of the social chaos, which could be so fatuous or so criminal as the mistake of not trying to seek any."

WITH THE CHAFF BLOWN OUT.

Lucy Pierce, a Chicago stenographer out of work and not knowing how to live without work, committed suicide by taking morphine.

At Scranton, Pa., where until recently 150 wagons were employed in the milk business, only 35 are used today. A combine did it.

Now that the country is to have more battleships, the steel men have succeeded in effecting a combine with a capital stock of \$200,000,000.

The appropriations voted by the last session of Congress foot up a total of \$93,231,615. Of this vast amount \$361,539,927 are on account of the war with Spain.

A Wall street broker has started out to organize a flour trust. He will probably get there, since he is reported to have behind him interests representing \$150,000,000.

Edward J. Possel, a German who insured his wife for \$10,000, then threw her over a cliff at Florence, Italy, tried to collect the insurance money and failed, shot himself through the head at Paris.

Frederick T. Day of Milwaukee has gone into bankruptcy with liabilities of half a million dollars, and assets of one office desk, some wearing apparel valued at \$100, and some law books said to be worth \$200. All of the assets, except the office desk, are exempt under the law.

The price of typewriters, says London Tit-Bits, is kept up by means of a "corner." This was recently in danger. Manufacturing charges having been reduced by improved methods, certain firms talked of a reduction in selling prices. The actual factory cost of certain makes prominently before the public is said not to exceed \$15.

Following the trend of the times, a milk trust is to be established at Detroit. The promoters think that large profits can be made by consolidation and saving expenses, and no doubt they are right. The business, now employing 423 wagons, will be done by the combine with 175, effecting a saving on this item alone of \$10,000 per year.

The United Typothetae of America (employing printers' association), at its recent annual meeting, decided against the request of the labor unions for a nine-hour day and also provided for fighting the question of placing the union label on national, state or municipal printing. The next card for printers to play is municipal and state ownership of printing plants.

The miners at Hazleton, Pa., who were starving a year ago and are starving still, have petitioned Congress to make an appropriation for their benefit and compel by law a wider use of anthracite coal. The coal trust reconcentrators should have learned by this time that the government, which is kept busy caring for the interests of capitalists, cannot help workmen in distress. Workmen must capture the government and help themselves.

Recently a "corner" was created in a brainy inventor. He is paid \$500 a year to do absolutely nothing. After inventing several valuable machines, he surpassed himself by inventing one for bootmaking. This brought him \$25,000. He was about to commence improving on it, but his employers stopped him. Fearful that he might succeed, and thus supersede the first machine, and not being rich enough to invest \$25,000 every year, they paid the inventor to give his active brain a rest.—London Tit-Bits.

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FALSE TIDINGS.

(Written for the Herald.)

"Ho, happy news! For peace is now descending.
Myrtle-crowned Peace, with olive bough
in hand!"
Lars and fools! Know ye not, war unending,
War, cruel war, is raging in the land?
"Ho, happy news! No battle, fierce and frantic,
Dyes the sea waves with fratricidal strife!"
Fools! from the Golden Gate to the Atlantic
Brother with brother struggles for his life.
"Peace, peace!" you say; there is no peace,
I tell you;
See how your neighbor lies in wait for you,
Waits to betray you, waits to buy and sell
you;
Say, is this peace, and are your tidings true?
No! In the fierce, fierce fray of competition,
Lo, how the war goes on by day and night;
Lo, men and women strive without control,
Lo, little children trampled in the fight!
Oh, let it end! Oh brother, and Oh neighbor!
Truce to this cruel, cruel war for bread!
Come, let us join in peaceful, common labor;
Come, and only in social toil instead.
Then shall come peace, real, lasting, world-wide, splendid;
Then shall the weary, dreary battle cease;
But till that day, say not that war is ended;
Bring me no lies, and tell me not of peace!
ELIZABETH H. THOMAS.

ORGANIZED LABOR.

The attitude of the Social Democratic party toward organized labor and trades unionism is defined in the following resolutions, adopted June 11, 1898. These resolutions represent the unanimous sentiment of the party:

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial conditions in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible:

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organi-

zation, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore endorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

THE MAN OF BLOOD AND IRON.

After all real happiness only comes from moral achievements. No other sort of success leaves a sweet taste in the mouth. So it was with Blismark. Great as were his achievements they were not in the interests of the people taken as a whole—indeed, they represented heartless crushings of the people, a ruthless stamping out of their rights as component parts of their country. That the man's life was an unhappy one, in spite of his rich surroundings, was only natural.

"I have seldom been a happy man," he said. "If I reckon up the rare minutes of real happiness in my life I do not believe they would make twenty-four hours in all. In my political life I never had time to have the feeling of happiness. But in my private life there have been moments of happiness. I remember, for instance, a really happy moment in my life, and that was when I shot my first hare."

On another occasion he said: "No body loves me for what I have done. I have never made anybody happy, not myself, nor my family, nor anybody else. But how many have I made unhappy! But for me three great wars would not have been fought; eighty thousand men would not have perished. Parents, brothers, sisters, and widows would not be bereaved and plunged into mourning. . . . That matter, however, I have settled with God. But I have had little or no joy from all my achievements; nothing but vexation, care, and trouble."

No other condition of mind was possible to the conqueror of France, the man who, when complained to that the Germans were firing on the sick and blind of the Blind Institute could have the brutality to say: "I do not know what you find in that. You do far worse; you shoot at our men who are in sound and vigorous health." The man who, when told that among the French prisoners taken at Le Bourget were a number of French-tireurs—only so in name, since the "Franco-tireurs de la Presse" wore uniform—roared in disgust: "That they should ever take French-tireurs prisoners! They ought to have them shot down by files!" The savage who, informed of the masses of conscript prisoners taken in one of Prince Frederick Charles' battles on the Loire, exclaimed: "Prisoners! more prisoners! What the devil do we want with prisoners? Why don't they make a battue of them?"

One is not surprised therefore to hear such a man give utterance to such a sentiment as this:

"Universal suffrage is the government of a house by its nursery."